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Communique of the 4th Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee
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Speech Delivered by Comrade Deng Xiaoping While Receiving Cadres of the Martial Law Units in the Capital At and Above the Army Level
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The Force at the Core Leading Our Course Is the Communist Party of China—Commemorating the 68th Anniversary of the Founding of the CPC
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[Editorial; also published in FBIS-CHI-89-129, 7 July 1989]

[Text] The recently concluded 4th Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee is a very important meeting of far-reaching significance in the history of the party's development. This meeting was convened under the circumstances where a decisive victory had been won in quelling the counterrevolutionary riot in Beijing. It has solved the current urgent questions that should be solved in further quelling the turmoil, stabilizing the situation of the whole country, consolidating the party's leadership, and maintaining the unity of the whole party and the unity between the party and the people. It has also solved the cardinal issue of continuous progress along the line of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Commemorating the party's birthday at this moment is of special significance.

The party has experienced a serious political test over the recent two months. The fact that the counterrevolutionary riot has been successfully quelled proves that the CPC deserves to be called the vanguard of the Chinese working class. It has not disappointed the masses who love and support the party; it has the capability in leading the people of all the nationalities of the whole country to overcome all problems; and it has set right the direction at an urgent moment. This event was by no means, as some kind people think, a patriotic movement aimed at promoting socialist democracy and freedom, and demanding punishment for official profiteering and elimination of corruption; it was a planned, organized, and premeditated political turmoil plotted by an extremely small number of people who wanted to make use of such slogans to agitate students and people who did not understand the true situation. Moreover, this event also developed into a counterrevolutionary riot in Beijing. Their purpose is to overthrow the Communist Party, to overturn the

socialist system, to subvert the People's Republic of China, and to establish a bourgeois republic. In this struggle, which had a bearing on the destiny of the party, the state, and the people, the party has resolutely resisted and overcome Comrade Zhao Ziyang's mistake of supporting the turmoil and splitting the party; has adopted correct principles, decisions, and a series of resolute measures; and has finally won victory in this struggle. The broad masses of workers, peasants, and intellectuals have awareness, have been resolutely against the turmoil and the counterrevolutionary riot, and have supported the party and the government. The Chinese People's Liberation Army, the armed police, and the public security police have demonstrated a high degree of awareness, and have endured a test. They have proved themselves to be the army of the people and the iron great wall of the country. Since the counterrevolutionary riot was put down, through the revealing of the facts and the disclosure of the cruel crime committed by the counterrevolutionary rioters, and in particular through studying Comrade Deng Xiaoping's important speech delivered to cadres at and above the army commander level who are members of the army responsible for enforcing the martial law, more and more people have come to understand the nature and root of this struggle and the evil motives of the enemies in and outside the country. This event has also made the broad masses of people understand in a deeper sense that adherence to the leadership of the CPC is of important significance in enabling China to march firmly along the socialist path, and to achieve prosperity and modernization.

It is not accidental, but a choice of history, that the CPC has become the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people. Being oppressed by imperialism and feudalism, the Chinese people had suffered rare humiliation and misery. In the continuous struggle against imperialism and feudalism, the Chinese people had tried other paths, and had been searching for a leading force that can really emancipate them. However, China's big bourgeois parties were attached to imperialism, and its national bourgeois was too weak to lead the revolution. Only the CPC can represent the fundamental interests of the Chinese working class and other laboring people, and it has conducted a continuous struggle to overthrow imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism. Therefore, it has won support from people of the whole country. The party has grown from a small party into a big one, and after 28 years of struggle and sacrifice, it has finally led the Chinese people to overthrow the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism, and found the People's Republic of China. "Without the Communist Party, there would be no New China." This truly expresses the thinking of the hundred millions of people. Since the establishment of the People's Republic of China, the CPC has led the people of the whole country to establish a brand-new socialist system, and has enabled old China, which was extremely backward economically and culturally, and was slanderously described as "the sick man of East Asia," to

develop step by step into a new country with the beginnings of prosperity. In particular through the 10 years of reform and opening up to the outside world, China has achieved rapid economic and cultural development, has raised people's living standard to a new level, has scored achievements which are the focus of world attention, and has won high international prestige. The radical cause for the CPC to become the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people is that it represents the most advanced thought of mankind—Marxism as its own guiding ideology—and persists in taking the socialist road, a road in line with the law of objective historical development. This is precisely where the fundamental interests of the broad masses of people lies.

History proves that in the 70 years since the May 4th Movement, besides the Communist Party there has been no party that has been uniting with the broad masses of working people. Today, we cannot deviate from the leadership of the party while adhering to the socialist road. In 1979, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out that "If China is separated from the leadership of the CPC, who is going to organize the socialist economy, and socialist politics, military, and culture? Who is going to organize China's four modernizations? In today's China, we resolutely should not deviate from the leadership of the party and should not extol the spontaneity of the masses. Of course the party leadership could not have made a mistake. How the party can closely link with the masses and implement correct and effective leadership is a question that should be earnestly studied and solved. However, this should not become an excuse for weakening and abolishing the party's leadership. Our party has committed many mistakes. However, in every case, we have relied on the party and have not deviated from the party to correct our mistakes. Today, the CPC Central Committee is resolutely developing party democracy and people's democracy, and is resolutely correcting the mistakes committed in the past. Under these circumstances, the broad masses will not brook any demand for weakening or even abolishing the party's leadership. This in fact will lead to anarchism and the collapse and destruction of the cause of socialism." These words were spoken 10 years ago, but are completely applicable to the current situation.

There is no denying that our party has committed errors, and some of them are serious. Certainly, corrupt phenomena also prevail to a certain extent within the party. To this, our party has paid great attention. Long ago, it said that the style of the party has a bearing on the life or death, survival or extinction, of the party, and put forward the demand for strictness in managing the party. With regard to our party's errors and the various existing problems, obviously there are two entirely different attitudes: One is sincerely supporting the Communist Party's leadership and enthusiastically helping the party overcome the existing errors and problems. The other is exaggerating the party's errors and problems with ulterior motives, and even fabricating rumors to slander it in

a vain attempt to achieve the evil objective of overthrowing the Communist Party. What is adopted by the overwhelming majority of the masses of people is the former attitude, whereas the very few people creating turmoil and rebellion take the latter attitude. This has been discerned more and more clearly by the broad masses of people.

The party is sincerely grateful to and welcomes the well-intentioned assistance and criticism given by the broad masses of people. Such assistance and criticism will prompt our party to pay more attention to its existing problems and firmly determine to break through obstacles and solve problems in order to make itself more pure and healthy with higher prestige and greater fighting strength. However, the final solution to the problems is to depend on the leadership of the party rather than to depart from the party. They can not be solved by any other method, and certainly not by such means as movements or even turmoil. Otherwise, not only is it entirely impossible to solve any problem, but events saddening our kinfolk and gladdening our enemy will result. Was the harm brought to our party, state, and people by the "10-year turmoil" not serious enough?

The recent disturbance had taught us many lessons. The most important is that we must consistently adhere to the four cardinal principles and oppose bourgeois liberalization. The recent incident is of the nature of antagonism between bourgeois liberalization and adherence to the four cardinal principles. To lead the people in taking the socialist road and to ensure the healthy development of the work of reform and opening to the outside world, our party must resolutely oppose bourgeois liberalization and rely on the adherence to the four cardinal principles as a fundamental ideology to educate the people, the students, and all cadres and Communist Party members.

Adherence to the four cardinal principles and consistency in opening to the outside world are supplementary to each other, and both of them are the main contents of the party's basic lines. We stress adherence to the four cardinal principles, but it does not mean relaxing our efforts in reform and opening to the outside world. In the speech delivered in his meeting with cadres at and above the army level who are members of the army responsible for enforcing the martial law, comrade Deng Xiaoping has clearly and definitely pointed out that the line, principles, and measures formulated since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee are correct policies. The principle of "one center, two basic points" is a correct one. The 4th Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee has highly praised Comrade Deng Xiaoping's speech, and considers it a programmatic document for unifying the whole party's ideological understanding. It has also emphasized and pointed out that the four cardinal principles are the foundation of the country, and they have to be upheld in a consistent and unshaking manner. Moreover, the implementation of reform and opening to the outside world is the path for strengthening the country. We

should implement as persistently and firmly the reform and the policy of opening to the outside world as before, and we absolutely should not return to the old path of closing the country to the outside world. We must seriously study Comrade Deng Xiaoping's speech to consider the past, think about the future, and summarize experience. We should continue what is correct, correct errors, and work hard to improve on inadequacies. Only in this way can we draw experience from this evil counterrevolutionary event and take a better, quicker, and more stable step ahead.

Over the past 68 years, our party has been advancing to meet difficulties head on. We have overcome many difficulties, and have never been obstructed by difficulties. The root of our strength is the support from hundreds of thousands of masses. The 4th Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee urged that we should vigorously strengthen the building up of the party, democracy and the legal system, should resolutely punish corrupted personnel, thoroughly fulfill the tasks that people are generally concerned about, and should not disappoint people's expectation of the party. With people's support, we will be invincible. Let us be more united around the CPC Central Committee, unite all the forces that can be united, and with one heart and one mind work hard and struggle for the building up of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Strictly Observe the Party's Political Discipline
*HK3007005089 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]
in Chinese No 13, 1 Jul 89 pp 10-14*

[Article by the Research Office of the Central Discipline Inspection Committee]

[Text] The turmoil and counterrevolutionary rebellion plotted and perpetrated by a tiny handful of people in the capital was essentially aimed at fundamentally negating the leadership of the CPC and the socialist system and establishing a bourgeois republic in China. Comrade Deng Xiaoping incisively pointed out that the recent incident essentially represented the antagonism between bourgeois liberalization and the four cardinal principles. Fighting bourgeois liberalization is a long-term task. In this serious political struggle, all party members, particularly leading cadres of the party, must strictly observe the party's political discipline, uphold the four cardinal principles, and make their due contributions toward safeguarding the political situation of stability and unity, doing a good job in the reform and open policy, and in the four modernizations.

Upholding the four cardinal principles and opposing bourgeois liberalization is an important guideline which Comrade Deng Xiaoping has emphasized time and again since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. However, some party organizations, party members and cadres, particularly senior cadres, did not give much heed to this important ideology upheld by the CPC Central Committee and Comrade Deng Xiaoping

and had been slack in implementing it. In the face of the unbridled spread of bourgeois liberal ideas, they feebly yielded their position, failed to maintain a firm and clear-cut stand, adopted a laissez faire attitude, and drifted with the tide. Some of them even lost their principle of party spirit and openly denounced the four cardinal principles, besmirched the party's leadership, and attacked the socialist system. As a result, bourgeois liberalization spread unchecked in some departments and units and became an important cause of this most appalling counterrevolutionary rebellion since the founding of the people's republic.

On 15 January 1987, the Central Discipline Inspection Committee issued a circular entitled "Communist Party Members Must Strictly Observe the Party's Political Discipline," which emphasized that party members must strictly observe the party's political discipline and that whoever publicized bourgeois liberalization in violation of the four cardinal principles and the Party Constitution will be subject to disciplinary action and even expelled.

Strictly observing the party's political discipline means upholding the four cardinal principles, opposing bourgeois liberalization, and maintaining a highly unified stand with the CPC Central Committee ideologically and politically. This is the crystallization of the history and experience of the CPC which has led the Chinese people in revolution and construction for several decades. It is also the political basis for solidarity and unity of the whole party, as well as the fundamental guarantee of the victory of our cause. If we divorce ourselves from the four cardinal principles, our socialist cause will lose its correct political orientation. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "If any one of the four cardinal principles is shaken, the entire socialist cause and cause of modernization will also be shaken." This is a fundamental lesson which we must firmly bear in mind.

In the recent turmoil and counterrevolutionary rebellion, ideological trends which negated the four cardinal principles and advocated bourgeois liberalization met with opposition and resistance from party organizations and the vast numbers of party members. Although some party members did not understand the real situation for a time, when the problems were brought to the light, they quickly brought their thinking into line with the CPC Central Committee's policy and Comrade Deng Xiaoping's important speech. Those who violated the party's political discipline and engaged in bourgeois liberalization made up only a tiny handful. They flaunted all kinds of deceitful banners and resorted to crafty means. We must lay bare their camouflage and reveal their true features so that the vast numbers of party members and the broad masses will be able to distinguish between right and wrong.

To talk about "democracy" without separated from the four cardinal principles was a prominent manifestation of the tiny handful of people who violated the party's

political discipline and engaged in bourgeois liberalization in this struggle. It was also the principal means with which they confounded facts, deceived the people, and incited turmoil and rebellion.

First of all, it must be pointed out that democracy is not the "exclusive right" of those who obstinately cling to their bourgeois liberal stand. To the contrary, democracy is the essential feature of our socialist country which has the four cardinal principles as its founding tenets. It has been borne out by numerous facts that our country is run by the people and that socialist democracy is practiced and is continuously being expanded in the political, economic, cultural, and social spheres. The rich contents of the four cardinal principles already cover socialist democracy. This is a fact that cannot be denied. As Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "Without democracy there cannot be socialism, or socialist modernization for that matter." He then added: "The democracy desired by Chinese people today can only be socialist democracy, which is also called the people's democracy. It cannot be bourgeois individualistic democracy." Any plot to set democracy against the four cardinal principles in an effort to shake and even negate the four cardinal principles is doomed.

As a ruling party of the working class which wholeheartedly serves the people, our party extensively practices inner-party democracy and continuously inherits and carries forward the party's fine traditions of inner-party democracy and of upholding democratic centralism. In the course of exercising political power, our party also strives to guide and safeguard socialist democracy, give expression to the fundamental interests of the broad masses of the people, and reflect their views and demands. At the same time, our party also attaches great importance to the enforcement of discipline, primarily the enforcement and maintenance of the party's political discipline. This means that party members must maintain the same stand as the CPC Central Committee politically and ideologically, uphold the four cardinal principles, and oppose bourgeois liberalization. When this is done, we will have a political basis and guarantee for the party's solidarity and unity, as well as a supreme guideline for unifying the will of the whole party. As far as individual party members are concerned, safeguarding and enforcing the party's political discipline is the minimum requirement and basic duty of any qualified member of the party's ranks. If one disagrees with the CPC Central Committee's decisions or resolutions, one could express his or her views to the party's leading organs or even to the CPC Central Committee through specific procedures. However, we certainly cannot allow the spreading outside the party of opinions which are opposed to the party's decisions, or permit individual opinions and actions which transgress the scope of the Party Constitution and the party rules. Anyone who fails to strictly observe the party's political discipline, who appears to be at one with and pays lip service to the line, principles, and policies of the CPC Central Committee, but who goes one's own way in reality, and who wavers

and vacillates on the important political issue and principle of whether or not the four cardinal principles should be upheld, or even openly violates and opposes these principles, has in fact betrayed the party's fundamental principles and cannot be called a party member. For the same reason, attempts to negate the four cardinal principles in the name of "democracy" and under high-sounding slogans of "democracy" and "freedom" also cannot be tolerated by the party and the people. What we mean by democracy is socialist democracy. In the party, this is democracy based on the principle of party spirit, democracy which is not contradictory to the party's discipline and is completely in conformity with the party's political discipline. In other words, real democracy must have the upholding of the four cardinal principles as its premise. Glibly talking about democracy in abstract terms that are divorced from the four cardinal principles, that is, the founding principles of our party and state, is itself a violation of the party's political discipline and will inevitably lead to the unchecked spread of extreme democratization and anarchy.

People's eyes have been sharpened by profound lessons. The causes and consequences of the counterrevolutionary rebellion which broke out in Beijing fully demonstrated that once divorced from the four cardinal principles, "democracy" will become a tree without roots and will lose its correct orientation. The "democracy" championed by the tiny handful of people was simply an excuse employed by these people to willfully trample upon and negate the four cardinal principles. They wanted to be free to promote their bourgeois liberalization so they could overthrow the leadership of the Communist Party and establish a bourgeois republic. All good and decent people and all upright party members must realize from this incident that while stressing the need to practice democracy, it is of utmost importance that they also safeguard and uphold the four cardinal principles and strictly observe the party's political discipline.

Flaunting the banner of "fighting corruption"—as a means of inciting a section of the masses and young people, who did not know the true situation, to attack our party and the people's government and to overthrow the party's leadership—was another beguiling trick employed by the tiny handful of people who obstinately clung to their bourgeois liberal stand.

It must be pointed out that the task of fighting corruption was first put forward by our party and has been consistently advocated by our party. It is also completely in conformity with the desires of the broad masses of the people. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party and government have all along maintained sharp vigilance against corrupt practices. With a sober understanding of the situation, the party and government have waged an unrelenting struggle against such practices, regarding the struggle as a protracted task that runs through the entire process of construction and the reform and open policy. A number

of party members who made mistakes of this or that sort have since been subject to appropriate disciplinary measures within the party, while others were expelled. Statistics show that in the 7 years between 1982 and 1988, the country's discipline inspection departments had taken disciplinary action against a total of 879,167 party members, of whom 193,373 were given the expulsion order. These obvious facts show the consistent stance of our party in fighting corruption and in dealing resolute blows at the corrupt elements. Our party has always championed the spirit of being honest in performing one's official duties and of building an enterprise through arduous effort, and has persevered in fighting corruption in the course of constructing and implementing the reform and open policy. Thus our party has become a party which wholeheartedly serves the people and which represents the fundamental interests of the masses. Thus our government has become a government which is so clean and well-loved it knows no parallel in Chinese history. Thus the overwhelming majority of our party members and cadres have become honest and self-disciplined officials dedicated to serving the people. This is the dominant aspect of our party, our government, and the majority of our party members and cadres. This is a fact which brooks no distortion. As the party's construction intensifies and as various systems and supervisory mechanisms are being established and improved, corruption within the party will gradually be overcome. At present, we have already instituted a system of reporting offenders and a system of "open administration and supervision," strengthened checks and balances, and introduced a multi-level and multi-channel system of holding dialogue with a view to curbing corrupt practices.

However, during the recent turmoil in Beijing, a tiny handful of people within the party who had ulterior motives turned a blind eye to this dominant aspect of the party. Picking on a few corrupt elements, some of whom had already been expelled from the party, and a number of corrupt practices, they willfully exaggerated and played up the wrongdoings, and even fabricated lies and rumors to mislead people, deliberately directing their spearhead against the entire Communist Party. As Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: Their slogans of "fighting corruption" only served as a foil. The gist of their plot was to subvert the Communist Party and overthrow the socialist system. Their actions not only seriously violated the party's political discipline but betrayed the original intention of the masses and the young students in fighting corruption. They had moved over to the opposite side of the government and the people. Party members who were fooled by these people who harbored ulterior motives should learn their lesson and enhance their sense of discipline, particularly their concept of political discipline. We must correctly understand and analyze the party's work style by seeking truth from facts, distinguish the party's dominant aspect and the majority of party members from corrupt practices and a handful of corrupt elements, and have the faith that our party can rely on its own strength to eradicate

negative and corrupt practices and build itself into a purer and stronger organization.

"Supporting the patriotic enthusiasm of the young students" was another banner flaunted by those party members who had seriously violated the party's political discipline.

The fact is, it is consistent with the stand and objective of our party and government for young students to express their patriotic enthusiasm by putting forward suggestions for fighting corruption, promoting democracy, and intensifying reform. Our party and government have all along given affirmation to such expression of ideas. However, there was indeed a tiny handful of people, including party members, who mingled themselves among the young students, were active among these students, and used the student movement to foment turmoil. What these people really wanted was to negate the leadership of the CPC and the socialist road.

During this period, the CPC Central Committee repeatedly urged all party members to fully recognize the seriousness of this political struggle, actively brace themselves, and wage a struggle to resolutely and swiftly put an end to the turmoil. This is the correct stand and principle of party spirit which every party member must uphold, and this is the way to show our true concern and love for the young students. In this serious political struggle, the vast numbers of party members maintained a firm and clear-cut stand and resolutely adhered to the CPC Central Committee politically. Some comrades lagged behind in understanding for a while, but as the struggle intensified, they gradually brought their understanding into line with the guidelines of the CPC Central Committee. However, a very few individuals within the party did not, in accordance with the requirements of the CPC Central Committee, provide persuasive education or give admonition to those young students who arbitrarily resorted to erroneous modes of action such as demonstrations, protests, boycott of classes, and even hunger strikes to press their demands. Instead of bringing the young students back onto the track of the legal system, they bolstered the students' enthusiasm, gave them support, and added fuel to the fire. Under the pretext of "supporting the patriotic enthusiasm of the young students," they actually pushed the vast numbers of young students to a dead end and brought pressure to bear on the CPC Central Committee. In respect of the various rumors which were circulating among the young students, they did not, in accordance with the requirements of the CPC Central Committee, try to stop the rumors and provide clarification on the matters. Instead, they wantonly exaggerated and played up the tales, and even took part in rumor-mongering to mislead the public and complicate the situation, craving nothing short of nationwide chaos. In respect of the illegal organizations and illegal activities of the young students, they did not, in accordance with the requirements of the CPC Central Committee, resolutely oppose and resist them. Instead,

they sympathized with the students, abetted and supported their actions, and even got personally involved by disclosing to them core secrets of the party and the state, providing them with all sorts of facilities, and giving them counsel on the establishment of opposition factions and opposition parties in China. It can thus be seen that this handful of people was jeopardizing the interests of the party, the state, and the people under the signboard of the party. The issue is not that these were for a moment unable to recognize the true nature of the incident or that they were wrong in their expression of support for the students' patriotic enthusiasm. The fact is, they were using the students' patriotic enthusiasm to try to achieve their own political ends.

Our party and government have always maintained that young students who have patriotic enthusiasm and desires, are quick to accept new things, and are full of vigor constitute an important reserve force for building socialism. However, it must also be pointed out that because ideological and political work have long been neglected, bourgeois liberal ideas have a considerable market among the young students. Helping and guiding the young students to distinguish between right and wrong, uphold truth, and resist falsehood is the duty of all party members. This is also the concrete expression of the upholding of the party spirit. However, a tiny handful of party members maintained a bourgeois liberal stand and resented, even resisted, the voice of the CPC Central Committee. They treasured the unhealthy anti-party and antisocialist ideas among the young students, and helped spread, even made use of, these ideas. It is thus not surprising that these people had, in the recent turmoil and counterrevolutionary rebellion, decided against taking the same stand as the party and the broad masses and made the wrong choice in their thinking and action. The incident taught the vast numbers of party members a profound lesson. It told comrades of the whole party that the party rules and the party's principles constitute the political soul and code of conduct of all party members. If they are divorced from the party rules and the party's principles, they will not be able to distinguish right from wrong in the face of complicated social phenomena. They will lose their bearing and drift with the tide, and will easily move over to the opposite side of the party. A party member who treasures his political life must resolutely take the party's stand and regard the Party Constitution and the party rules as his own code of conduct. On no account must he simply parrot others, lose his principle of party spirit in a major political struggle, and be swept off his feet by the trend of bourgeois liberalization.

The so-called "press freedom" was a "weapon" repeatedly used by the tiny handful of people who obstinately clung to the bourgeois liberal stand. It was an important "breakthrough point" in their attempt to negate the four cardinal principles.

For some time, there was ideological confusion in a small number of news units. Some of these units set the party spirit and people's spirit of socialist journalism against

each other and wanted to abolish the party's leadership over journalism. Some of them misinterpreted the "double hundred policy" as doing away with the four cardinal principles and even confused this policy with bourgeois liberalization. Some of them one-sidedly stressed the objectivity of news reporting and denied the social responsibility of the media. In a nutshell, they failed to see that our newspapers, magazines, and radio and television broadcasting, as socialist media under the leadership of the party, are essentially different from the news agencies of bourgeois countries and from bourgeois commercial newspapers and magazines. They wanted the "total westernization" of the media. In the recent turmoil and counterrevolutionary turmoil, some news units misguided public opinion by publishing reports that contradicted the line, principles, and policies followed by the party since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and the principles outlined by the CPC Central Committee on curbing the turmoil. This created serious ideological confusion among the masses and posed great difficulties and obstacles to the ultimate quelling of the counterrevolutionary rebellion. If we take a look at the frantic rumor-mongering perpetrated by some Hong Kong and Taiwan newspapers and magazines and foreign news agencies, we can see that reporters and editors who are themselves party members had done something which saddened their own people and gladdened the enemy.

We would say that an important reason why there was ideological confusion in certain news units some time ago was that some media people had not been resolute in resisting the trend of bourgeois liberalization and had not thoroughly resolved the question of the violation of political discipline. The Party Constitution stipulates that "Everyone is equal before the party's discipline." It is the duty of all party members to strictly observe the party's discipline. Party members engaged in journalism must not, on any account, use the special nature of their work as a pretext to relax their discipline. They must clearly recognize that the party's press, the state's broadcasting and television stations, and related publications are the mouthpieces of the party and the people. Party members engaged in the media must, under the leadership of the party, unconditionally publicize the line, principles, and policies of the party and the government. We must strictly enforce the party's discipline upon the tiny handful of people who violated the party's political discipline and obstinately clung to their bourgeois liberal stand in the recent turmoil and rebellion, and who refused to mend their ways after education. Party organizations and the vast numbers of party members of newspapers, magazines, broadcasting, and other news units must conscientiously sum up experience, consciously uphold the principle of party spirit in their work, consciously observe the party's discipline, and become the core and backbone of the media in maintaining a general situation of stability and unity and in persevering in the socialist orientation. In this way, our journalists will be able to better serve the party's basic line.

The grave lesson tells us once again that we must oppose bourgeois liberalization which was frantically advocated by a tiny handful of people within the party, and enforce the party's discipline upon those who refuse to mend their ways despite repeated admonitions. Where the overwhelming majority of party members are concerned, the important thing is to educate them. An important principle that must be grasped in this struggle is to always stress education and unite the majority. It is the common task of the whole party to conduct protracted education on the need to uphold the four cardinal principles and to fully and correctly understand and implement the party's line, principles, and policies since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Fighting bourgeois liberalization and strictly enforcing the party's political discipline are a protracted and arduous task that runs through the entire process of the reform and open policy. We must be sober-minded and not slacken our vigilance in the slightest.

Let the Facts Speak

HK3007010089 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]
in Chinese No 13, 1 Jul 89 pp 15-17

[Article by Yan Wen 0917 5113 from the office of the Beijing Municipal CPC Committee]

[Text] In the last 2 months, Beijing, the capital of our great motherland, experienced an event which the good and decent people in their millions never expected. Flaunting the banner of fighting corruption and demanding democracy, a tiny handful of people—who had always nursed a grievance against the leadership of the Communist Party and the socialist system—took advantage of the students' patriotic enthusiasm and the masses' strong demand to eradicate corruption and seized on some of our shortcomings and mistakes in work to engage in agitation and stir up trouble in an attempt to subvert the leadership of the Communist Party and overthrow the socialist system. What started off as a student movement turned into turmoil and eventually developed into a counterrevolutionary rebellion. Acting promptly and with resolution, the CPC Central Committee, the State Council, and the Central Military Commission quelled the rebellion and restored stability in Beijing and the whole country.

A focal point of this struggle is whether this incident in which students, at the instigation of a tiny handful of people, boycotted classes, held massive demonstrations, and staged a hunger strike to press their demands, and tens of thousands of people protested in support of the students, is to be termed a "turmoil" in line with the tone set by the 26 April RENMIN RIBAO editorial, or a "patriotic movement for democracy" as some people had claimed. To clarify this question, it is best that we let the facts speak.

At the beginning of this year, big- and small-character posters and handbills were posted and circulated in some of Beijing's colleges and universities. We can get an idea of what this incident was all about from what was publicized and fomented in these materials.

In January, a handbill prepared by the "Beijing University Marxist-Leninist Theory Study Society" said: "Historical development has eloquently proven one thing, and that is, if we want destruction, we should rely on Marxism, but if we want construction, we should 'take the capitalist road.' This is a universally recognized truth." On 29 March, an article entitled "China's Hope and Despair" written by Fang Lizhi for Hong Kong's MING PAO was posted for public viewing in Beijing University. The article said in part: "The root of 40 years of despair lies in the socialist system itself. That is why in China today the pursuit of modernization has replaced faith in '-isms' and the Lenin-Stalin-Mao Zedong style of socialism has completely lost its attraction." The spearhead of this article was directed at the socialist system. A big-character poster captioned "The Call of the Times" questioned the rationality of the existence of socialism and asked what philosophical system should be adopted to replace Marxism-Leninism. Some others attacked the CPC as being "the evil generation" and made the slanderous remark that "from the past to the present, the Communist Party has been involved in corruption, autocracy, and national betrayal. The Communist Party has nothing to recommend itself." Still another big-character poster attacked the CPC, saying that it has "lost its function as the vanguard group of advanced elements of the proletariat and is nothing more than a ruling party practicing China's millennia-old feudal autocracy in a disguised way." Some placards even read: "Down With the Communist Party."

From these big- and small-character posters, placards, and handbills, we can see that the plotters and organizers of the turmoil had had their spearhead directed against the Communist Party and the socialist system and against the theoretical basis of our ideology—Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought—from the very beginning. The Constitution of the PRC clearly states: "Both the victory of China's new democratic revolution and the successes of its socialist cause have been achieved by the Chinese people of all nationalities under the leadership of the CPC and the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and by upholding truth, correcting errors, and overcoming numerous difficulties and hardships." Without the CPC, without Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, there would not be an increasingly prosperous and strong PRC today. A tiny handful of people attacked the Communist Party and attacked Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought in a sinister attempt to completely subvert the PRC. What these people wanted was to establish a bourgeois republic, and to achieve this purpose, they must overthrow the PRC which is led by the Communist Party and which follows the socialist road. Fang Lizhi, who was once held in high esteem as a "patriotic fighter for

democracy" by some people, minced no words saying: "To put it bluntly, I am not in favor of patriotic slogans, at least not one hundred percent." His remark laid bare their darkest secrets. These people were not "patriotic" in the least. They were simply trying to bring destruction and ruin to the nation. How can the incident be called a "patriotic movement for democracy"?

Let us now look at how the tiny handful of conspirators acted in the course of the development of the entire incident. Over the last 2 months, some people under their instigation defied the ten-point regulation of the Standing Committee of the Beijing People's Congress concerning demonstrations and protests and willfully organized these activities without a permit. From May onward, the scale of demonstrations grew ever larger, with the number of protesters growing from tens of thousands to hundreds of thousands and then to over a million, seriously affecting and disrupting production, work, and social order in Beijing Municipality. Back in 1981, the Beijing Municipal Government had issued a circular stating that "demonstrations, meetings, public addresses, and the writing, distribution, posting, hanging, and display of publicity materials of whatever nature are forbidden in Tiananmen Square without the permission of the Municipal People's Government." However, at the instigation of this tiny handful of people, students organized hunger strikes and sit-ins, pitched tents and hoisted banners in Tiananmen Square, and occupied the square for a prolonged period. What was more, they openly violated the "Regulation of Beijing Municipality Concerning the Construction and Management of Sculptures in the Urban Areas" by erecting a so-called "Goddess of Freedom," later renamed "Goddess of Democracy," in the square, thus destroying the sanctity of Tiananmen. During the turmoil, illegal organizations such as the "Beijing Federation of Autonomous Student Unions in Universities and Colleges," "Beijing Federation of Autonomous Workers' Union," and "Autonomous Union of Beijing Residents" were established in defiance of the "Regulations of Beijing Municipality for the Management of Mass Organizations." According to these regulations, mass organizations may be established only after going through the necessary formalities. Organizers must first apply to the relevant departments for approval. After their application has been screened and approved, they may then go to the Civil Administration Department for registration, and a mass organization may be declared established only after the Civil Administration Department has given the green light and signed the certificate of registration. However, none of these organizations and groups had reported their establishment to departments at higher levels nor obtained permission. They were illegal because they were not established in accordance with legal procedures. In the course of the development of the incident from turmoil to rebellion, a small handful of bad elements perpetrated a lot of counterrevolutionary activities. Ringleaders of the illegal "Beijing

Federation of Autonomous Student Unions in Universities and Colleges" and "Beijing Federation of Autonomous Workers' Union" broadcast Voice of America programs through loudspeakers on campuses and in Tiananmen Square every day. They interfered with major state functions which were the focus of world attention, and incited class boycotts and strikes in their anxiety to create chaos. A tiny handful of people even instigated some ex-convicts who had not properly reformed themselves, political hooligans, remnants of the "gang of four" and other dregs of society to form the so-called "Flying Tiger Squad," "Death Squad," and "Volunteer Army." These groups besieged and attacked offices of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council, mercilessly injured or killed officers and men of the martial law troops, wantonly engaged in beating, smashing, and looting, burned state property, military vehicles, and public buses, and incited workers and shopkeepers to go on strike and students to boycott classes. They also distributed large numbers of handbills agitating for counterrevolutionary rebellion.

Through these facts, we can see clearly that in the course of inciting the turmoil and rebellion, a tiny handful of people had grossly violated the Constitution and the law and turned a blind eye to democracy and the legal system. The Chinese Constitution stipulates: "All citizens of the PRC are equal before the law. Every citizen enjoys the rights and at the same time must perform the duties prescribed by the Constitution and the law." In other words, citizens of the PRC must abide by the Constitution and must act within the parameters prescribed by the Constitution. Words and deeds in violation of the Constitution will not be tolerated. A tiny handful of people had openly defied the Constitution and the law in perpetrating illegal deeds. How can their actions be deemed "patriotic"? What kind of "democracy" was that?

From the words and deeds of the organizers and plotters of this incident, we can see that throughout the incident they were trying to overthrow and subvert the leadership of the Communist Party and the people's republic. This is true whether we are looking at their guiding ideology and actual deeds. Facts have demonstrated that the recent incident was simply not a "patriotic movement for democracy" but a turmoil, a rebellion.

Of course, when we say that this incident was not a "patriotic movement for democracy," we do not mean that each and every student and ordinary citizen who had taken part in this incident was not patriotic. We would say that the overwhelming majority of students and citizens did what they did out of a sense of patriotism. The CPC Central Committee and the State Council had affirmed the patriotic enthusiasm of the students on more than one occasion. The government also welcomed demands from students for punishing those guilty of bureaucratic corruption and for eradicating corruption. However, in this grave struggle on which the fate of the party and the state hinges, contradictions are entwined

and extremely complicated. Taking advantage of the patriotic enthusiasm of students, the tiny handful of people deceived the masses and engaged in their conspiracy to subvert the Communist Party and overthrow the socialist system. We may say that the patriotic enthusiasm of the overwhelming majority of good and decent students and masses was utilized by the handful of schemers. This only shows that good and decent people lack vigilance in complicated political struggles. They should seriously sum up experience and lessons after this incident.

Western Press Freedom and Other Things
HK3007012089 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]
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[Article by Chang Tan 1603 6151 of the State Council Research Office]

[Text]

I

In the eyes of Western political scientists, the freedoms of expression and publication are the core of the theory of modern political democracy, and press freedom is a combined manifestation of the freedoms of expression and publication. It cannot be denied that press freedom played a major role in the bourgeois revolution in Western Europe. At that time, in industrially developed countries, press freedom was a sacred term and it was incorporated into the constitutions of various countries. Press freedom thus became one of the indicators for determining whether or not a country was civilized and progressive. However, what rights does press freedom actually grant to people, and how should these rights be exercised? In the 100-plus years since press freedom made its appearance in the world, these questions have continually troubled mankind. Back in the 18th century, a British writer saw that press freedom was not the panacea to all problems, and he noted that the danger of unrestricted freedom was as great as the danger of restricted freedom. He noted that this had already become a political problem. If every innovator was able to publicize his plans, then the society would not know who to follow. Also, if every person who had complaints over politics could spread a mood of dissatisfaction, society would know no peace. Unfortunately, in the 18th and 19th centuries, when the calls for press freedom were the loudest, this discordant note was shoved off to the side. It was only in the 1930's that the Western countries began to recognize that press freedom was far from being the illuminating, saving factor it had originally been considered.

Let us take as an example the United States, which is touted as the place where press freedom is most developed and the degree of press freedom is most advanced. According to *American Journalism: A History*, after the United States gained independence, under the banner of press freedom, the newspaper industry saw great development. Although at that time the various parties and cliques regularly engaged in arguments and abused each

other in the press and even used the newspapers to engage in attacks on each other, in general, the trend of development was good. For example, the right which newspapers enjoy to directly criticize the government and its major and minor officials began in this period. However, this trend concealed another trend. While a benign cycle was advancing in one respect, an adverse trend was swiftly growing in another respect, and was gaining the high ground. This adverse side was the notorious tide of yellow journalism in U.S. press history. This tide reached its peak in the latter half of last century and the first half of this century. It rampaged right across North America, and the whole of the U.S. press circles and U.S. society were subject to its depredations. So-called yellow journalism was news which appeared to be new and original, but which was actually low quality, soulless news. It flaunted itself as being concerned with the people, but it used shocking, superficial, provocative, and uncaring news to block up the news channels on which people depended for information. It changed the major issues of peoples' lives into cheap farce, and changed news into that which enabled newsboys to sell newspapers. Even more despicable was the fact that it absolved people who had committed crimes or who had engaged in outrage. Yellow journalism poisoned the social atmosphere in the United States and, as the situation became more serious, it attracted increasing attention and concern from people of integrity. Representative views were those of Godkin of the *EVENING POST* when savagely criticizing the yellow journalism czars Hearst and Pulitzer. He said: "A yellow journal office is probably the nearest approach in atmosphere to hell existing in any Christian state. A better place to prepare a young man for eternal damnation than a yellow journal office does not exist"; and "The reason this sort of journalism creates rumors is that there is money to be made from rumors. It caters to the tastes of morally degenerate people." By the beginning of this century, the various circles in American society had begun to strongly attack the undesirable aspects of the news media: the press opposed social change; press reports usually stressed only superficial and sensationalist things and lacked positive content; the press had harmed social morality and lowered moral standards; the press had unreasonably violated the private lives of individuals; and so on.

The U.S. press which had brought such great trouble to society was forced to engage in some self-examination, and it thus began to explore the causes of the problems and avenues for resolving them. It discovered that the origins of the rise of the adverse current of yellow journalism lay in mistakes in the theory of journalism. The theory of journalism under liberalism is that freedom of speech and freedom of publication are natural rights which nobody can violate; at the same time, they do not involve any obligations. As one newspaper mogul said: "A newspaper is a private business. Society does not give it any privileges and it does not have any obligations to society. Thus, it is not subject to the influences of social interests." As freedom of speech and

freedom of publication are innate and natural rights, it was considered that the people should be allowed to freely say whatever they wanted and publish any idea they wished to publish. Restrictions on such publication would harm press freedom and violate the constitution. In brief, the theory of journalism under liberalism allowed the press to publish biased, one-sided, and even distorted reports. It was this loophole that yellow journalism took advantage of, and it was thus that it could run wild without any restraint across the whole of North America. Thus, American newspeople soberly came to realize that if they were to repulse the torrent of yellow journalism, there was a need to correct and limit press freedom and a need to reestablish a theoretical breakthrough point and theoretical support. Thereby, a new theory of journalism—the theory of social responsibility—began to appear. According to this theory, the freedoms of speech and publication are moral rights with appended obligations, and are based on an individual's own thoughts and conscience. In the view of the social responsibility theory, there is no such thing as the kind of press freedom which enjoyed absolute rights under the theory of pure liberalism. Freedom of speech is conditional rather than unconditional, and seeing press freedom as purely an individual right came to be considered extremely inappropriate. Thus, in the political freedom realized today, there is a need to impose restrictions on press freedom. This is because if people do not take on the obligations required by their own conscience, then there is a great possibility that people will use the freedom of expression and publication to sully the well of truth. From this we can see that people can enjoy moral rights only as they take on moral responsibilities; only after having the moral right will people have the right to request freedom of expression. Only when a person's right to freedom of expression is balanced against other peoples' individual rights and the interests of society will it be able to play a beneficial, healthy, and positive role. Under the influence of the social responsibility theory, in 1923 the American Society of Newspaper Editors formulated the world's first canons of journalism. The canons called on newspapers to be sincere and truthful to the public, to be fair and just, and to respect the private lives of individuals. They stressed that newspapers should have a responsibility towards the welfare of the people. The practice of the American press since that time has gradually come onto the track of the theory of social responsibility.

What needs to be further pointed out is that the journalist circles in some other Western countries have also put forward similar views. For example the contemporary English scholar [(Xi-bo-te) 6007 0130 3676] in *English Press Freedom* says that the English theory of journalism also recognizes the correctness of the following views: press freedom is not absolute; various forms of restriction are necessary; and the government has the reserved power to set the scope of press freedom. In its 1980 report, the authoritative "Committee for the Study of International Exchange" also pointed out: "Press freedom is actually not without limits. It is a

limited political and professional ideal which, like all other things, is subject to the things that can happen in society. If we think about the content of news information and especially if we consider the regulations on blasphemy, slander, rumormongering, libel, state secrets, national defense, and so on, this point becomes even more clear."

To sum up the above, the process of development of the press enterprise in Western countries provides us with some deep-reaching enlightenment: 1. Press freedom certainly does not mean being able to say whatever one wants to say. If such a press freedom were allowed, it would destroy society and wreck national stability and unity. 2. Press freedom is a natural right, but is even more a moral right. Thus, the press world must consciously be responsible to the public and to society and cannot consider just its own narrow interests. 3. There is no such thing as absolute press freedom. Strictly speaking, this is but a fantasy and an illusion. There is no society in which this exists. There should and must be certain limitations on press freedom. Only when there are both obligations and rights in press freedom will it bring society stability and prosperity.

II

Many young students do not understand the development of the Western press. They see only the surface image of the Western press, today attacking Nixon and tomorrow bringing down Takeshita, and thus they innocently believe that in those countries any report or article can be published and that the press is the defender of justice. This is a very major misunderstanding of modern Western society and its press freedom. We know that the election and changing of a U.S. president is to a very large degree decided by the contention and compromises between several very major power groups in U.S. society. These behind-the-scenes power groups and their members are the major role-players in deciding the fate of the president and his cabinet members. Thus, we cannot see the impeachment of Nixon by the U.S. press or revelations about Tanaka in the Japanese press simply as a manifestation of the freedom of the press. On the contrary, these incidents showed only that the contention between the largest power groups in the U.S. and Japanese ruling classes had reached the boiling point and come into the open. The book *President Carter and the Inside Story of American Politics* gives us a good description of how the American monopoly press strictly controls "press freedom." The author says: "The most influential mass media companies are all controlled by the Eastern power groups—those people who hold the controlling position in the U.S. ruling class. The companies represent these power groups in exercising hegemonic rule, on the ideological level, over U.S. society." Another American Thomas [(Dai-yi) 2071 0122], in his book *Who Controls America*, wrote: "For the majority of Americans, television is the main source of information. Those people who control the broadcasting of information are some of the most powerful

people in this country." In U.S. society, the major broadcasting and television power is in the hands of three major companies—the ABC, NBC, and CBS broadcasting companies. Those moguls who control broadcasting and television compete against each other, but also collude together to jointly decide what the American people can see and what they cannot see. Under such a news system, it is rather evident how much press freedom can be achieved.

Seen on the surface, the governments of Western countries appear to not interfere with news media organizations, such organizations are not subordinate to the government, and there is no administrative jurisdictional relationship with the government. However, the Western governments which have very close relationships with the various power groups have not completely let go of control of the news media. Quite the opposite. They are always looking for ways to control news media organizations and control public opinion in the society. The United States has, since the time of Washington, its first president, always laid stress on this. In the last 200 years, "this policy of controlling public opinion has not changed, just differed with the different people in the White House." Since the medium of television has penetrated to millions of households and to all countries of the world, and the influence of public opinion has grown to an unprecedented level, the government has even more tightly controlled news media organizations. Former U.S. President Nixon bluntly noted: "Because the age of television as a major propaganda tool and source of information has arrived, what is required of presidents today is indeed more difficult than what was required of their predecessors. They must learn the art of mastering the media, not only to obtain victory in election, but also to further make known the plans and undertakings they believe in. At the same time, they must rack their brains for ways to avoid being accused of manipulating the media." It can be said that the U.S. government has a great variety of ways to control the media. For example, presidents over the years have become friendly with famous reporters of major newspapers and have provided advance briefings and held small news conferences for well-known news organs. A person who is very familiar with the inner workings of the U.S. political scene has bitterly and sarcastically noted: "To call a presidential press conference a free meeting is not as accurate as saying it is a rehearsed performance for creating news."

Fang Lizhi, who is extolled by some people as a "fighter for democracy," once said: "What I construe to be democracy is this critical dialogue we are now engaged in. In front of how many people are you prepared to engage in critical dialogue? Today, we are prepared to speak out in front of a few dozen people. Would you be prepared to speak out in front of several hundred people?" In Fang Lizhi's view, there is only one measure of democratic freedom, whether one can or whether one dares to speak rubbish to a large audience of people. However, the sad thing is that the type of country Fang

Lizhi subjectively concocts does not exist in the world. Even U.S. society does not offer that much democracy and freedom and will not allow anyone to say anything they wish. As an example: In the 1950's, a U.S. university student made a speech on the streets abusing President Truman and government officials. Some people expressed opposition to those views and this gave rise to a riot, with the result that this university student was arrested and he was sentenced to prison for the crime of disturbing public order. The "Suppression of Incitement to Rebel" law which was formulated by the U.S. Congress stipulates that if newspapers or journals humiliate or incite people to be contemptuous towards the United States, the national flag, or the armed forces, they will be subject to serious punishment. People have calculated that the United States has over 18 restrictions of the freedom of expression. For example, there is no symbolic freedom of expression to be disrespectful to the national flag or to burn draft cards; there is no freedom of expression to voice views which will endanger public order or lead to rebellion; there is no freedom of expression allowing one to create disorder in the peaceful functioning of schools; there is no freedom to start rumors or provide false reports; there is no freedom of expression when it involves obstructing other people's rights; it is not possible for people, on the basis of freedom of expression or freedom of assembly, to obstruct urban transport or violate traffic regulations; there is no freedom of expression to abuse people in a way which gives rise to trouble; there is no freedom of expression to use obscene language; protection of pornographic literature is not included in the freedom of expression; there is no freedom of expression in disclosing state secrets; slanderous expression is not protected; and so on.

III

Truth is the life of journalism. The strength of journalism lies in speaking the truth and being faithful to the facts. However, how the truth is expressed and which truths are expressed are things which are subject to much discussion.

The early newspapers were full of insults, curses, libel, and even gutter language directed at their enemies, and such articles were obviously biased news reports. As opposed to such reports, in this century U.S. press circles have particularly stressed and promoted the use of "objective reporting" methods in presenting the news. So-called objective reporting means being faithful to the facts, not fabricating stories, and not recklessly or falsely fabricating reports. However, the determining of which facts to use, which facts to discard, and which facts to interpret as well as the language in which the news report is presented, all involve biased judgements. This bias is determined by the political stand of the news organization and the world view of the reporter. Skilled journalists are especially good at sieving the facts, organizing them, editing them, and choosing the right facts, so that their judgments are implied in an apparently

objective news report. The journalists cleverly hide their political stand in their reports. Thus, the readers, at the same time as obtaining the news, unconsciously are subject to the journalist's political attitudes. Thereby, the journalists influence readers' opinions and the views of the public. Frankly speaking, the U.S. news organizations and their journalists are very skilled at this. For example, during the student movement and disorder, the "Voice of America" frequently broadcast news which had "been heard" in Beijing. On the surface, it appeared that the "Voice of America" was describing facts rather than spreading counterrevolutionary propaganda. However, by selecting and interpreting their facts, they were cleverly and in a disguised way influencing the mood and ideas of many of the masses who did not understand the true situation, and they thereby played an extremely sinister and evil role in adding fuel to the flames.

A Mexican scholar, after having conducted a great amount of research into the actions of U.S. news organizations in Latin America, discovered that a large number of inaccurate, untruthful, unfair, irresponsible, and distorted reports emanated from U.S. news broadcasting organizations. At the same time, this scholar summed up a few of the frequently seen measures that the U.S. news broadcasting organizations used in distorting reports: they make unimportant things seem to be very important; they combine things which have no relevance to each other into some entity and report on this nonexistent entity; they hint at what people should see as the truth; and they use a certain method to describe events from a special angle, so as to produce fear and unfounded worries. When we consider the various inglorious performances by the "Voice of America" over the last few years, it can be said that the Mexican scholar's conclusions were truly incisive. To put it bluntly, this propaganda is just a clever means of rumormongering.

It is worthy of note that, due to the influence of the ideological tide of bourgeois liberalization, in this student movement and turmoil, a small number of people from some news units also took to the streets, engaged in so-called "support" demonstrations, and even put up posters saying "We Want To Speak the Truth." However, the subsequent reality has proven that these people from the news units were unable to maintain an unbiased and fair attitude. For example, when the Beijing City government provided much logistical support for the hunger-striking students, why did these people not report the "truth"? When many of the masses wrote expressing dissatisfaction, why did they not report a word? Is this situation not worth deep reflection?

Comrade Deng Xiaoping has pointed out that we must build socialism with Chinese characteristics. In the same way, under this major precondition, we must put efforts into building a press system with Chinese characteristics. A rational press system is essentially a press order with standards. In this ordered environment, there will be an appropriate tension between press freedom, individual

rights, social interests, and the overall national situation. These four aspects exist together and can develop in harmony. This is our hope and the formulation of a press law will be a major step in realizing this hope. We deeply believe that having gone through tribulations, our country's press circles will indeed be able to correct shortcomings and move forward on a solid path!

Political Rumors and Rumormongering Politics
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[Article by Wen Ping 5113 1627 of the CPC Propaganda Department]

[Text] In the alarming counterrevolutionary rebellion which occurred in the Chinese capital of Beijing, there was a particular characteristic that provides food for thought. That is, in the whole process of deliberation, preparation, planning, launching, and disintegration, the rebellion was accompanied by the elaborate creation and wide dissemination of concentrated, undisguised, fantastic, and malicious political rumors. It can be said that if there had not been a large-scale flood of rumors, there would have been no way to deceive those people who did not understand the true situation. Correspondingly, as soon as these rumors were fully punctured, the result was the collapse of the counterrevolutionary rebellion. It is for this reason that we cannot consider and treat the large volume of political rumors which appeared during this rebellion in a normal way. Clearly recognizing the special position and role of these political rumors in the overall process of the rebellion will be extremely important for us in fully understanding the counterrevolutionary nature of this rebellion. Puncturing, exposing, and clarifying the political rumors with facts allows those good and fine people who do not understand the true situation to free themselves from the deceit and deception of these rumors and to clearly understand the significance of completely smashing this counterrevolutionary rebellion.

Political rumors were the public opinion manifestation and spiritual mainstay of this counterrevolutionary rebellion, and were an important means by which a small handful of people engaged in inciting, propagating, and directing counterrevolutionary activities. The content of these political rumors is best able to reflect the political goals, political orientation, political demands, and counterrevolutionary intentions of this small handful of counterrevolutionary elements. Thus the struggle between rumors and antirumors had to become a focal point in the struggle to smash the counterrevolutionary rebellion.

Clearly, those rumors which were widely broadcast during this counterrevolutionary rebellion were certainly not ordinary rumors. That is to say, they were not just exaggerations or spiced-up imaginative details intended to please the public. Rather, they were open attacks aimed at the leadership of the CPC, at the people's political power, and at the socialist political system. A

large volume of rumors was produced during the course of the rebellion, including the claim that some local governments and state organs had declared the present government a "sham government" and did not support it, and that tens of countries had cut diplomatic relations with China. These rumors fully show that those who created and spread them were clearly intending to subvert the socialist republic, in direct service of their criminal aims of trying to abolish the four cardinal principles and implement a capitalist system.

These political rumors, which continually escalated in their degree of perniciousness, were not just mindless nonsense produced blindly and spontaneously. Rather, they were meticulously engineered and produced in a planned and organized way by specific media and command centers which had a clear counterrevolutionary program, and were all-pervasively spread far and wide by all sorts of methods. From Beijing to other parts of the country, and from within the country to outside the country, they were tightly coordinated and in close communication with each other, forming a tight rumor distribution network and creating a counterrevolutionary rumormongering chorus both in name and in fact. These rumors had long stopped being furtive whispers and gossip and had become a "turbid wave" of rumors which "covered heaven and earth." Many of the so-called "lecture teams" and "dare-to-die corps" took the spreading of counterrevolutionary rumors in the capital and in outlying areas as their major task.

A point worthy of special attention is that in the process by which these counterrevolutionary rumors were produced and spread, various Western, Hong Kong, and Taiwan broadcasting media, including the "Voice of America," played a particularly inglorious role. They threw away their self-proclaimed claims and guise of "truth," "fairness," and "objectivity" in this rebellion, to become manufacturing merchants and salesmen of political rumors which they had not even scrutinized. For example, the shocking and pernicious political rumors about the martial law troops engaging in a "blood-bath at Tiananmen," about "blood flowing in rivers" at Tiananmen, about how thousand of people had died in the clearing of Tiananmen Square, about how large-scale fighting and battles had broken out between martial law forces, about "mutinies" and "rebellions," and so on, were all leapt on by the "Voice of America" and various foreign newspapers as they strove to be first to "disclose" them and make a great clamor about them. This so-called "news" was also held up as a guide to action by those people within the country who were inciting rebellion.

Thus, political rumors become rumormongering politics. The entire counterrevolutionary rebellion took the creation and spreading of political rumors as a basic means of engaging in counterrevolutionary activities, even to the extent where on a day when there were no rumors they could not get along. After one rumor was punctured, they had to create a new rumor to maintain the

momentum of the rebellion and use even more fantastic rumors as a "stimulant." This resulted in a pernicious cycle and escalation of political rumors.

Rumormongering politics is the politics of deceit and lies. As far as the real inciters and organizers of this rebellion are concerned, so-called striving for democracy and opposing corruption was only a fig-leaf used for achieving their counterrevolutionary goals. Truth and lies cannot be reconciled. Any revolutionary movement which promotes historical advance can rely only on truth, not on falsehood.

The fact that this counterrevolutionary rebellion was established on the basis of rumormongering politics decreed that it would not last long but would have a short existence. Some of the most sinister political rumors upon which this rebellion relied for its existence were quickly destroyed like soap bubbles: The myth that the martial law forces had engaged in a "blood-bath at Tiananmen" was completely laid bare by the factual report in our broadcast of "the true situation of the rebellion"; a great many facts about ruffians cruelly injuring PLA soldiers, burning military vehicles, and burning, smashing, and looting on a large scale, and a great many facts about how social dregs gathered together and roamed around, laid bare the lies about the rebellion being a "democratic movement." This has allowed millions of good and honest people to see the real features and the criminal aims of rumormongering politics.

This rebellion has been put down and the rumormongering politics of a small handful of people has been bankrupted. However, we must draw lessons from this. We can see that in the process of this rebellion, there were indeed many people who did not understand the real situation and were taken in by the political rumors. They hoped to eliminate the phenomenon of corruption and had a good-hearted desire to speed democratization. However, they were used by a small number of people who had ulterior motives and ended up going in the opposite direction to the one they desired. The anarchic ideological tide which was vigorously fanned by a small handful of people created conditions for the creation and propagation of these reactionary political rumors. The fanaticism stirred up by this ideological tide caused even more people, especially some innocent young people, to lose their senses and to lose their ability to assess things soberly, with the result that they were confused by the greatly flawed rumors and even engaged in breaking the law and committing crimes. Is not this lesson sufficiently deep-going? This is sufficient to show that for a long period of time there have existed very major faults in our ideological and political work. Now we have reached the time to earnestly draw lessons from this incident. Recognizing the criminal aims of the counterrevolutionary political rumors and of the various despicable intrigues should be the first step in our earnest drawing of lessons.

Preface to 'Contemporary Communists'

HK3007020089 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]
in Chinese No 13, 1 Jul 89 pp 24-25

[Article by Wang Renzhi 3769 1804 0037 dated 16 May 1989]

[Text] Through 10 years of construction and reform, our country's features have undergone major and deep-reaching historic changes and we have realized achievements recognized throughout the world. At the same time, in the march forward we have encountered many difficulties and problems. Our party and country are now at a major historical juncture. The times demand staunch communists who are capable of shouldering the historic task of building socialism with Chinese characteristics, and in practice we certainly have already produced and are continuing to produce a large number of such communists. It is at this time that the Beiyue Literature and Art Publishing House has grandly published the large-size series "Contemporary Communists" to introduce the brilliant images of a number of staunch contemporary communists who have steadfastly adhered to socialism and steadfastly adhered to reform and opening up. These images are intended to serve as models, to encourage and spur on people to be brave in creation, in overcoming difficulties, and in struggling forward on the road of socialist modernization. The publication of this series is very timely.

Since the day the CPC was born in the vast land of China, with its noble ideals and scientific theories and though the practice of revolution and construction, it has fostered batch after batch of heroic fighters, staunch communists who do not fear sacrifice, who have struggled for national independence and the liberation of the people; for a strong, democratic, and cultured country; and for socialism and communism. At the same time, batch after batch of outstanding Chinese boys and girls have been drawn into the ranks. It was because these communists led the vast masses of the people in common struggle that they were able to push our country's history forward step by step to where it is today. The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee opened a new historical period; and the various levels of party organization and the vast number of party members, with a new attitude of struggle and spiritual style, battled in the front lines of socialist modernization, reform, and opening up. In the last few years, there have appeared and there continue to appear a large number of outstanding contemporary communists. These communists represent the orientation of historical advance; they are the vanguard of construction and reform, the mainstays of the socialist enterprise, the backbone of modern China, and the great essence of the Chinese nation. The "Contemporary Communists" series truly and vividly reflects the ideals, sentiments, labor, work, and struggle of people who are representative of these outstanding communists. The images are touching and moving and they provide us with supplementary teaching materials, which other educational

forms cannot replace, for conducting education in party spirit. These will also be of benefit in improving party style, in strengthening party building, in the struggle against corruption, in rousing the national spirit, and in promoting construction and reform.

The contemporary communists described in this series are active in different work posts; their specific environments and conditions also differ, and they vary in terms of their individual characteristics. However, within the rich diversity there is contained a widespread commonality. As outstanding representatives of contemporary communists, they have common essential characteristics and noble characters. As opposed to those who neglect or even forget the long-range ideals of communism and the basic principles of socialism, they have vowed to adhere to the progressive orientation of communism and have strived to explore new forms, new roads, and new methods for putting into practice the basic principles of socialism. As opposed to those people who follow the old paths and are complacent and conservative, they maintain and develop the spirit of path-breaking and innovation which communists throughout the years have persistently followed. In the great tide of reform and opening up, they have hacked their way through difficulties and realized great achievements and continually opened up new vistas in modernization and various aspects of work. As opposed to that odious study style of talking irresponsibly and bragging, they maintain and develop the rigorous study style which communists have long followed of having a high respect for objective truth. In their work, they proceed strictly from reality, seek truth from facts, are conscientious and meticulous, and seek constant improvement. As opposed to that decadent style of seeking pleasure and becoming morally degenerate, they have, facing the tests of holding power and engaging in reform and opening up, maintained and developed the style of arduous struggle which communists have always valued. They are upright and honest and completely unsullied. As opposed to that sordid merchant philosophy of benefiting oneself, they maintain and develop the philosophies of life and values which have always been adhered to by communists, whereby one consciously puts the interests of the country and the collective above one's own interests. Public interest takes precedence over private interests, other people take precedence over oneself, and one is selfless in providing service. To sum up, steadfast and noble faith in ideals, the spiritual mien of path-breaking and innovation, the scientific attitude of seeking truth from facts, the ideological style of arduous struggle, and the moral sentiment of selfless service—these are the strengths of the contemporary communists. This is a great spiritual strength and a great advantage which we possess. In the great undertaking of building socialism with Chinese characteristics, we should fully bring this advantage into play.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping has recently pointed out that in our work over the last 10 years, "the greatest error has been in the educational aspect. Ideological and political

work have been weak, and education has seen insufficient development." This includes both the problem of overall ideological and political work, which involves education in arduous struggle, patriotism, collectivism, and socialism, as well as the problem of education in schools at the various levels. In a nutshell, this is the problem of building socialist spiritual culture. Persisting in correcting the situation where the building of spiritual culture has been given insufficient attention or ignored, and, at the same time as building material culture, striving to strengthen the building of spiritual culture, is a major and pressing strategic task which we urgently need to carry out. One of the keys in building spiritual culture is the building of the party's ideological style. The party style is an issue which concerns the life or death of the party in power. The key to correcting the party style is raising the quality of party members. The ancients said: "Look to other people as a mirror for understanding your own defects." This book is a mirror. The broad masses of readers can, through this mirror, see the strengths of our party and see the bright future of our party's undertaking. There are millions of such communists throughout our country who use real actions to prove that they are worthy of the glorious title of communist and are worthy of the people's hopes and the demands of the times. At the same time, those people who have forgotten that they are communists and also those who lump communists together with the ordinary people should, through this mirror, feel ashamed, and thereby bestir themselves and again become persons worthy of the glorious title of communist.

A Tentative Discussion on Whole-Course Optimization—Rethinking on Short-Term Behavior

Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH] in Chinese
No 13, 1 Jul 89 pp 26-28, 7

[Article by Jiang Niantao 1203 1819 3447; not translated]

A Commentary on the Study of Practical Materialism

Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH] in Chinese
No 13, 1 Jul 89 pp 29-37

[Article by Wang Pengling 3769 7720 0109, Li Lixin 2621 0500 2450; not translated]

The Theory of Reflection—the Philosophical Basis for the Marxist Study of Literature

Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH] in Chinese
No 13, 1 Jul 89 pp 38-44

[Article by [Wang Yuanxiang 3764 0337 7534; not translated]

Staying at Night With the 'Xie Chen Squad'

Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH] in Chinese
No 13, 1 Jul 89 p 44

[Article by Chao Jingzhen 2513 0079 7201, Jin Lianzhu 7246 6647 3796; not translated]

Legal System and Civilization of the Masses by Education

Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH] in Chinese
No 13, 1 Jul 89 pp 45-46

[Article by Zang Kejia 5661 0344 1367; not translated]

Run Tu Again Comes to My Mind

Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH] in Chinese
No 13, 1 Jul 89 pp 46-47

[Article by Ge Feng 2047 6912; not translated]

A Few Suggestions on How To Better the Publication of QIUSHI

Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH] in Chinese
No 13, 1 Jul 89 pp 47

[Article by Sun Wen Sheng 1327 2429 4141, Deputy Party Committee Secretary of Hunan Provincial CPC; not translated]

Announcement of the Results of the 'Jinshitan Cup' Prize-Winning Solicited Articles

Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH] in Chinese
No 13, 1 Jul 89 p 48

[Not translated]